2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
[692] to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of
● 577 a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Dwong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are ago.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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195 565 64 644 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi kal Juok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

195 643 When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

195 844 576 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

836 [836] These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yuci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

576 682 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

577 [837 548] Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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In matters of money they are often surprisingly honest. Money loans are usually repaid punctiliously and without prompting. On one occasion there was great difficulty in paying out correctly a sum of about £E. 80 to workers for the Egyptian Irrigation Department owing to the names having been written down in Arabic by a writer unfamiliar with Shilluk names. After the main part had been eventually distributed through the District Commissioner's office there remained some £E. 10 unpaid. Many Shilluk refused to accept from the Irrigation Department sums written against their names declaring that it was more than they had earned. This sounds unlikely but it happened nevertheless. 577

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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Chapter VII

JUSTICE

692 A great part of the work of the king and his chiefs is the
648 administration of justice. This is done under the super-
[643] vision of the local British officials, and, of course, has been
[681] restricted in some ways. The former ruthless butchery and mutilation for petty offences is no longer tolerated, nor is the sentence of death and the execution of such a sentence permitted to them. Apart from this, however, it is the policy of the Sudan Government to encourage the various native peoples of the country to administer their own territory according to their age-long traditions and usages. And indeed, a harassed District or Assistant District Commissioner with only a handful of police to help him in administering an enormous area, being neither argus-eyed nor possessed of the power of being in several places at once, can attend personally only to a fraction of the cases that continually come up for attention. He will deal with the more serious criminal offences, but the majority of disputes and petty
[643] crimes among the Shilluk are heard and decided by the king
[694] and the district chiefs.

577 Whether justice as we understand it, the meting out to an individual exactly what is his due, is always done in these cases is another matter. To say, as is often said, that the African has a strong sense of justice and resents being treated unjustly, is not strictly true. He certainly resents being treated unjustly, but often he equally resents being treated justly when the judgment given is detrimental to
695 himself. Hence, in a criminal case in which he is the accused,
577 or in litigation with his neighbour, he will cheerfully swear to tell 'the truth, the whole truth,' meaning all the time 'and nothing like the truth.' Then he spins a most convincing tale which none of the listeners believes but cannot fail to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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admire on account of its ingenuity and plausibility, will bring forward a cloud of witnesses to support his statements and with an air of 'that's my story and it's sticking to me' implicitly challenge the court to disprove it or his opponent to go one better. And if perchance his version of the facts of the case is shown to be the reverse of reality and his witnesses are confounded and made to contradict one another, no one is shocked at such blatant falsehood; the onlookers rather are disgusted at the poor show he has put up and at the poor staff work which has permitted the witnesses to be caught out.

Most of the cases which are brought before the native courts are concerned with the ownership of cattle. They are usually claims for cows to replace the original units of a dowry which have died, or for the return of cattle which have been paid with a view to a marriage which for some reason or another has not taken place, or which, if ratified, has been broken up owing to the sterility or the unfaithfulness of the woman. Such cases are tremendously involved and intricate, and only a Shilluk well versed as he is in his tribal laws and customs can possibly follow them. For instance a Shilluk often starts paying cattle for a bride whilst she is still a child, and six or seven years must elapse before she is of marriageable age. The prospective husband may leave the country, having as it were 'staked a claim', only to return later to find that the girl's father has bestowed her on another suitor. The disappointed swain at once demands his cows back but these are beyond recall, having long since been dispersed throughout the country as parts of other dowries. There are, it is true, some cattle left of the second dowry, but no Shilluk worth his salt will easily part with cattle which have once come into the family byre in prompt settlement of a mere debt. So the father puts the angry man off with soft words and fair promises, and then another spanner is thrown into the works; the daughter is ignominiously returned for some reason or other and suitor number two requires that his dowry be returned. Father hopefully offers the rejected daughter to her former suitor,